

Mr. SHEPARD commenced by saying, that he promised the Senate on yesterday, when they agreed to make these resolutions the order of this day at 11 o'clock, that he would occupy but little of their time, he would now strictly comply with that promise.

He would at an earlier period of the session have introduced the subject of these resolutions to the attention of the Senate, but as a move had been made on the subject in the other branch of the Legislature, he preferred for various reasons, with which it is not now necessary to trouble the Senate, to await the action of that House.

The session of the Legislature is now drawing rapidly towards its close, and he was sorry to say, the House of Commons has not yet finally acted on these resolutions, and he was afraid the session will pass off, and leave them among the mass of lumber upon their table.

Mr. Speaker, the people of North Carolina, the whole South, expect us to speak out boldly and without disguise, on this interesting and all important subject.

In my judgment sir, it will be an indelible stigma upon the character of this Legislature, if it adjourns without a final and decisive action on these resolutions.

It is idle to say the resolutions are abstractions and will produce no result; if so, then your constitution is an abstraction, and all the guarantees you possess for the quiet and peaceable enjoyment of your slave property are abstractions, and you must be content hereafter to hold that property—not under the sanction of a Constitution, which we have sworn to obey, but at the will and caprice of northern masses.

Sir, I am no alarmist, but I cannot look at what is now passing in Washington City, without serious apprehensions for the result. Since the commencement of this session, we have seen the House of Representatives make an unprovoked and wanton attack upon the rights and property of the slaveholder in the District of Columbia; an attack so outrageous that most of the Southern members, without distinction of party, have been oblig-

ed to meet in convention to resist it. And shall this Legislature look on as unconcerned and idle spectators, without offering the slightest encouragement to those gentlemen who are fighting our battles and contending for our rights? I hope not sir. I hope that North Carolina will at least be spared that ignominy.

It is a common practice now-a-days, when a move is made in defence of Southern rights and institutions, to raise the cry of Nullification and Disunion in order to alarm our loyal and peace-loving population. Such a cry as this cannot deter me from doing my duty. At a time when nullification had many ardent admirers in North Carolina, when it was the favorite doctrine with most of the leading politicians in my district, I opposed it as an unconstitutional move, and a remedy worse than the disease. If South Carolina erred in her resort to nullification upon such a subject as the Tariff, is it therefore wise or statesmanlike in us, situated as we are, to brand all resistance of federal power, as dangerous to the Union.

It will be a sad day for North Carolina when our Legislature tolerates such folly as this. Upon the subject of slavery the South stands isolated from the rest of the Union. We have in fact sir, the whole world at war against that institution as it exists among us; and whether we desire it or not, the whole Southern country must stand or fall together.

The institution of slavery is so deeply engrafted in our social relations that it cannot be eradicated by Legislation. The ruin and desolation which England has brought upon her West India Colonies, ought to satisfy every man of sense that Legislation cannot touch this subject with the best intentions, without producing incalculable evil. And yet sir, when every mail comes laden to our halls with the most undoubted testimony of the daring recklessness of Congress, we are told we must be quiet, your resolutions may disturb the Union—as if an union of freemen could ever be permanent upon any other principle than that of equal and impartial justice to all its members. There is not now, nor has there been for years